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ORATION,

DELIVERED ON THE FIFTH OF JULY, 1847,

BEFORE THE

NATIVE AMERICANS

OF CINCINNATI.

By Rev. CHAS. B. BOYNTON.

CINCINNATI:

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CORRESPONDENCE.

CINCINNATI, JULY 7th, 1847.

Rev. Chas. B. Boynton,

SIR:—At a meeting of the citizens of Cincinnati held on the 6th inst., the undersigned were appointed a Committee to request a copy of the Oration delivered by you on the Seventy-second Anniversary of our National Independence, before the Native Americans of this city.

In compliance with their wishes we respectfully solicit a copy for publication.

Yours, &c.,

CHAS. GRANT,
OTIS ALDRICH.

CINCINNATI, JULY 9th, 1847.

To CHAS. GRANT and OTIS ALDRICH, Esqs.

GENTLEMEN:—Your note is before me, requesting for publication a copy of the Address, delivered at College Hall, on the 5th of July.

If, in your opinion, its publication can either awaken or extend an interest in American Principles, it is at your service.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

CHAS. B. BOYNTON.



ADDRESS.

FELLOW CITIZENS:

Whenever a clergyman undertakes the discussion of a political subject, he is often advertised as an estray, who must be arrested and returned to his proper quarters. He is regarded as one who has broken out of the enclosure, where public sentiment watchfully confines him; and as going incontinently forth to trespass upon the rights and feelings of society.

If any holding such opinions are present here, I wish to remind them of the remark of a distinguished divine of our own times. He said, that in his state, there were only two classes of citizens who were deprived of the most important rights and hopes and privileges of citizenship. One class, he said, "were guilty of wearing a black skin, and the other of wearing a black coat." Having lost caste by these crimes, they were excluded from the select society of the political arena. As one of those who have been almost unanimously ostracised as guilty of a black coat, I have one word to say. The two mites of us ministers, who are so fortunate as to possess so much, are regularly taxed, and the assessments are regularly paid and with cheerfulness. We are expected to contribute in all ways, according to our ability, towards the support of our institutions, and this is just; but upon the very principle contended for, and fought for, and died for, by our heroes of '76, have we not the right to protest against this taxation from a government in which we are allowed no proper representation? And if you persist in levying the tax, and make us parties to the maintenance of our civil institutions, as we desire to be, then why attempt to shut us

out from a reasonable share in the discussion of, and control of their action? Has a minister of the gospel no love of country, no opinions of her policy which he would like to express; may not his eye open on the world's movement even as others. Has he merged the citizen and the man in the clerical office; is society for him but a wider cloister, where he must be as perfectly isolated from the common action and feeling of men, as if he were enclosed within the walls of the narrower cell? Has he no heart to feel the great throb of public life? Must his ear alone be deaf to the sounding surge of events?

Our clergymen are far from desiring to handle the weapons of partizan warfare; it would justly tarnish their fame, and ultimately ruin their influence. But that public sentiment which would exclude from the pulpit, or forbid a minister otherwise to discuss, the moral and religious bearings of our political action, is working incalculable injury to all concerned.

It serves to banish the word of God as a rule of conduct in politics; and public sentiment is corrupted by imperfect standards of morality. It dissociates the pulpit from the actual life of society; prevents it from vigorously seizing upon and moulding the forms of this present; serves to render its teachings barren and dull; tends to contract the intellect of the preacher; to dwarf him to a pigmy, or shape him into a bigot with one idea; to cause the minister and his people to dwell in separate worlds;—so that his discourses, touching none of the events which most excite and control the public mind, fall upon the ear as if composed in an unknown tongue.

Let a minister confine himself in his preaching to the truths of the gospel, but with these truths let him fearlessly sweep the whole field of human action.

As a clergyman, I stand, *of course*, before you dissociated from all party action, and mere party purposes. But while I have no party connections, hopes, or aims, I am not aware that in becoming a clergyman I have ceased to be an Ameri-

can; and, when I discover that the duties of a minister are inconsistent with American feelings, or American principles, I will either abandon my profession, or desert my country.

On this morning, whose proud and glad associations carry us back to the birth-hour of our nation, as an American citizen, I claim not to be disfranchised by my profession. I demand my share of the common joy; and my right, upon the invitation of my countrymen, to set forth, according to ability, principles, which in the days of our fathers, were deemed necessary to the preservation of our nation.

When storms are sweeping the vessel from her track, and the mariner is conscious that he is drifting, and yet knows not whither, nothing is deemed more important than to catch a glance of the sun, or even of some familiar star, from whence, by the aid of instruments and chart, the true position can be determined, and the ship headed to her course anew.

Few now seemed disposed to deny that our nation has lost sight of her original features of policy. None can truly tell us in what direction our bark is headed; the winds strive on the great deep of the popular mind, and ahead—the sullen dash of breakers. It would be well then, if possible, to get an observation; and how can it be more effectually done than to fix our eyes upon tried and steadfast American principles, and calculate from them our position and bearings? It is most fitting that this should be done on this very day, which links us by association directly with those times, when the American people could say, without a rebuke, or a sneer, or a threat: “This is *our own*, as well as, our *native* land.”

What, then, are American principles; what is their character, and what their value?

I will only pause here to give a general answer, proposing ere I close, to speak somewhat more in detail.

In general terms, then, we may say, that genuine American principles are identical with those of Protestant Christianity; and when these principles are embodied in action,

they utterly refuse to assume any form except that of a Protestant Christian state.

Passing for the present this point, let us inquire where American principles were born. From whence did they spring? A correct knowledge of their origin, may, perhaps, enable us to determine their character. They are the children of Christianity; they sprang directly from those sublime declarations of individual worth, and individual rights, which were embodied in the teachings of the Savior, and those very principles which our fathers brought and planted between the wilderness and the sea; received their original sanction in that hour when the veil of the temple was rent, and darkness shrouded Jerusalem;—for, in that hour, civil and religious liberty was the priceless gift which Jesus bestowed on the world.

Those principles which have justly become identified in this age with the American name,—because in the early history of our country they were here more distinctly than elsewhere asserted and embodied in fitting institutions,—are the very same which eighteen hundred years ago arrested the human mind in its universal decay and descent toward barbarism. The truths which our fathers declared and acted upon when the colonies were planted and nourished along the Atlantic, which they made the basis of every political structure they reared, are the very same which trod heathenism to ashes in the Roman Empire; which swept Europe of its savage idolatry, and built up nations bearing the Christian name. And when Rome had extended over the earth an empire more powerful than that of the Czars, and infinitely more despotic—more fatal to the hopes and liberties of man—these same truths marched to attack her; and, in the hands of Luther and his associates, they were like the shattering ball and shell—like the rending earthquake—like the lightning's scorching blight. These principles, born of the Bible, are armed with the Bible's power. They reach down one hand to exalt the individual man, to give him his rights, his proper blessings and suitable instruction; and, with the

other, they dash despotisms in pieces; no matter whether heeded by a mitred priest or sceptred monarch.

Since the days of the Apostles, they have worn harness in the field; doing battle in behalf of man; abolishing heathenisms and despotisms; cheering on humanity in its slow, desperate march, opposed by tyrants, loved by the masses, hated of the devil, and the Pope.

That system of truth, then—religious and political—which by adoption here is now distinguished as American, is the same which was given to the world by Christ and his Apostles, which was afterward persecuted, nearly to death, hunted well nigh out of the earth, by the Roman hierarchy, for more than a thousand years. They marched out into all the earth against it with fire and sword, and rack and torture, dungeon and chains, with gibbet and crucifix; doing to death in all ways in this world, and consigning to damnation in the next. But the spirit of liberty and true religion united, could neither be devoured by sword, nor scared over the boundaries of creation by anathemas, nor burned up with fire. In the time of the Reformation, it found a voice still to protest against iniquity, and from that period it became *Protestant—Protestantism*;—and when it was cast out of Europe as evil, our fathers took it to their own bosoms, brought it to these shores; adopted it, and gave it the name of their country; and so, that mighty system of civil and religious liberty which the Savior published in Judea, having received in the early history of our government its fullest and distinct development, has been baptized with the American name. The principles are known among us as *American* principles, and the carrying them out in practice is simply to found and preserve a Christian, Protestant, Democratic State: a State whose basis should rest upon the Divine authority, and by which men should be governed according to the laws of God.

It is well, perhaps, also to notice, in passing, what is often denominated the very birth-hour of the spirit which fled first to Holland, and then, in the May-flower, to the wilderness.

I mean the time of its practical development in England, about the period of the first settlement of the New England colonies. The Reformation embodied not only the spirit of religion, but of civil liberty also; it contained the elements of human progress, and was as hostile to a monarchy as to the Papacy. Despotism, in all forms in church and state, found it a natural enemy, unyielding and indestructible as truth itself. It came into collision with the hierarchy and prostrated it for a season; it swept the throne away, and for a short and brilliant period what we now call American principles were predominant in England. It was the most glorious era of her history. Never before, nor since, has the moral character of England stood so high, never did she cherish at home a more noble self-respect, never was there a higher, truer regard for her character abroad, than when her destinies were guided by the great puritan, Oliver Cromwell. The distinguishing features of policy which made the times of Cromwell the heroic period of England were in general the same which guided the course of our own country until after the death of our great puritan statesman, **GEORGE WASHINGTON**, and his associates.

Puritanism is at least eighteen hundred years old. It is but another name for Apostolic Christianity, embodied in civil institutions. Puritanism, Protestantism, and True Americanism are only different terms to designate the same set of principles, working out in all laws with more or less success similar results. The struggle is ever to elevate humanity, to overturn and remove whatever can abridge, either the rights or the comforts of man; whatever can impede his progress, fetter the intellect, or interpose human authority between man and his God.

Against all these, and all *such* things, American principles have eternal war, which can only be ended by unconditional surrender of the wrong. These are the original foundations of the American State. It was a Puritan State, which was founded in the cabin of the *May-flower*—those were Puritan colonies which shaped the early destinies of our country; they were Puritan orators whose spiritual lightning flashed

through the masses of the people, and kindled all it touched—and he was a Puritan who led our armies to victory. A Puritan Assembly produced the Declaration, and the Confederation was Puritan in all its principles, and all its aims. Puritanism, belongs not to New England only: it is found wherever a heart throbs with genuine American feeling. It is Protestant Christianity seeking to clothe the spirit of Liberty in a fitting body of free institutions; and surely, if to the Native American people any charge is specially committed, it is to see that such institutions are neither corrupted by improper admixture, nor subverted by priestly fraud, nor stricken down by violence.

Such then was the origin, and such the character of those truths in government and religion, which are now distinguished as American. They were the only basis of our nation as originally established. Until after the close of the Revolution the great aim of the people was to expand by natural growth from the colonial germs, until the land should be filled by a Protestant, an American people; a homogeneous mass, fused to a unit by all the proud and tender associations of a common birthright, and a common faith, and animated by one single soul. This—and not a State formed of an ill-cemented human conglomerate—was the idea of our fathers.

I will make here one remark, which it is important to bear in mind, as we go forward in this discussion. Spiritual Despotism finds in this system an exact, and the only antagonism to itself; and from the moment of its first appearance in Judea until the present hour, every hierarchy has hated, and persecuted, and cursed it; has striven to blot it utterly out. From the moment the Papacy was born, it declared war against Puritanism, for Puritanism is older than Rome; and that war it has waged with a nature that never changes, a heart that never relents, a hand that never falters, when it has the power to strike. Its hatred of all truly American is stereotyped, and the type is cut not in perishable steel, but on the eternal adamant. It cannot wear out, but it may be melted by the breath of the spirit of God, or dashed in pieces by His power.

This fact is an important one to be remembered, when we come to determine whether to guard ourselves against Rome is intolerance, or righteous self-defence against an enemy, cunning and powerful, and bent to destroy.

To found a Christian, Protestant state, and to expand it by natural growth from the native American root, rather than by foreign admixture: this was the aim and hope of our fathers. They wished that this land might remain a possession for their children; they hoped that it would yet be filled to the utmost borders, with a native American people, or at the very least, that it should continue forever the home of a Protestant nation, where whoever was admitted to the rights of citizenship should be thoroughly *Americanized*.

One question, which here arises; whether such a state is worth preserving; and, another, by what means had they or have we the right to render such institutions secure?

Upon the question whether such a state was worth preserving we will not spend a moment. If we doubt here we are not worthy to discuss it; and every true American believes that in its destinies were enfolded the most precious interests, the dearest hopes of man. But admitting that it is desirable that American principles should be preserved from contamination, and this nation remain distinctively American, what means are lawful for the attainment of our end? Have we any peculiar and paramount title to the soil we as a nation hold? Or are we to admit the truth of that doctrine which declares that the earth is held as the joint and common property of all nations, and the immigrants who flood our country have rights here equal to the native born; that they establish themselves here not by *permission* from the American people, but by *right* derived from God, who hath given the earth as the common possession of all?

Have we any right, as a pre-established people, to shut out the immigrant, if we deem it necessary to the preservation of our country; or so to withhold the privileges of citizenship, that the foreigner shall understand our institutions, and be assimilated in spirit to them, before he shall have power to modify or control their action?

Have the American people received the Protestant religion as a solemn charge from God, which they are bound to keep as those who shall give an account? Is this land divided to them as an inheritance which they have the right in their discretion to defend?

To these questions, I answer—

I. By the ordinance of God the nations have not a joint occupancy of this earth. They do not hold it as tenants in common, but as a divided inheritance. Had the race, without transgression, been developed from that first pair in Eden, there would have been one homogeneous family, and the globe their common and undivided inheritance.

But when to recover fallen man the economy of grace was introduced, God saw fit for the planting, preservation and spread of truth, to change the whole arrangement. The human family was broken at Shinar into separate branches, and the earth passed from a *common* estate to a *divided* inheritance. This arrangement, God in His providence, has preserved to the present, and its ultimate removal, the blending of the different branches again into one great brotherhood, is an end to be reached only in that era where the triumphs of the gospel shall be universal and complete, and the nations of the earth shall be reheaded in Christ.

I have said that a joint tenancy of this earth is contrary to the ordinances of God.

Permit me to offer the proof. “When the Most High divided to the nations their inheritance, when he separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the people.” And again: “And hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the *bounds* of their habitation.”

All our codes of national law, assuming the individual existence and separate ownership of the nations, are based upon the ordinances of God referred to in these passages; and upon the fact that the Most High has recognized their validity in all His providential dealings. In His work of preparing for the gospel dispensation, in the planting and

spread of Christianity, He has committed unto nations as He chose, a solemn charge: a trust of principles and territory; a precious deposit of truth, and a spot of earth sufficient for its maintenance. These he has required them to keep for Him and for humanity; and when false to the trust, when forgetful of the terms of stewardship, He has brought them to the reckoning, swept them away, and chosen Him other instrumentalities.

Let us consider a moment his plan:

By a course of training carried forward for four centuries, He prepared the Jewish nation to become the depository of those truths and principles which most nearly concern the honor of God and the welfare of man. He assigned them their national territory, and by acts most clearly marked as His own, he put them in possession of Judea. How did he preserve the committed truth? *By holding it separate and pure.* He hedged round the Hebrews by impassable barriers; he guarded them by the most stringent enactments from amalgamation with other nations, permitting no one to become a Jewish citizen unless he laid aside utterly his own nationality, and became by *knowledge*, by practice, and *in heart*, most thoroughly a Jew. No admixture of foreign material was permitted unless it could be so thoroughly assimilated as to become a living member of one homogeneous body; and even then it was felt that important advantages attached to the native born. Paul thought it a circumstance not unworthy to be mentioned that he was a native Jew, a Hebrew of the Hebrews.

At the commencement of the Christian era, the Hebrew nation had become false to its trust, and it could be no longer steward. The kingdom was taken from it, and with clearer light and enlarged privileges, and with a wider and more clearly marked design, the great truths were committed to other instrumentalities.

Those principles, which were the basis of the Jewish Commonwealth, added to the clearer revelations of Jesus, were united in one system; were entrusted to a special organization instituted for the purpose, and designed for man.

Enshrined in this organization, Christianity went forth, bearing the gift of political and eternal salvation, revealing the value of the individual man, proclaiming the equality of the race, and enfolding in its system the only rational idea of civil liberty which the world ever possessed. This system was Apostolic Christianity, simple, faithful and pure. It was the Puritanism which preceded the Reformation; it was Protestantism *after* the time of Luther. The same system was planted by our fathers by the edge of the forest which skirted yonder sea; and American principles became the western name for Protestant Christianity. The Christian Church, to which Jesus committed this system, proved false to its trust, within three hundred years from its founding; and out of its treachery and corruption, that terrific power, the Papacy, arose. For a thousand years and more, truth and liberty were crushed together, or hunted out of society. They were driven afar, into the recesses of the mountains, and pursued with the fire-faggot and sword.

In the time of Luther, God once more gave to the true system a distinct embodying, and under the name of Protestantism it was now given in charge, first to Germany and Continental Europe; but those nations, after a short trial, failed to preserve its purity or to wield its power. Despotism in the civil governments was then too strongly established.

In the time of Cromwell it received a sudden and clear development. It swept the hierarchy and the throne away, and the system of Apostolic Christianity, with its truth and liberty, stood up and offered itself, under God, to England. She refused the offered boon; as a nation, she cast it from her; and what then? The Most High gathered out of England a host of her choicest, her noblest men. They were led forth from Europe, like Israel from Egypt, with an uplifted arm; they were transported to another hemisphere; they were separated utterly from the power and influence of the Papacy, and as the germ of a new nation he planted them, as he did the Jews in Palestine, where they could have full and free development: and committed *to them* afresh

the solemn trust of Protestant Christianity and human liberty. Never since the foundation of the Jewish Commonwealth has a nation been planted by God on earth, in regard to which His intentions were so clearly marked, as in reference to our own. We were made the stewards of a most holy trust,—even truth and freedom for the world.

Then, as the conclusion on this point, I declare my conviction, that such territory as we have peacefully and rightfully acquired, belongs, by the special appointment of God, unto the American people; and with this land has been committed to their charge the safe keeping of human liberty and the Protestant religion. In the first assault which the Papacy made upon the new born Protestant nation, to devour it in the bud, God appeared signally for our deliverance, marking thus most clearly His intentions. When a Catholic power took possession of the Canadas, and stretched its lines from the St. Lawrence through all this valley to the mouth of the Mississippi—holding thus the keys and the heart of future dominion—God scattered their strength and banished them from the country, showing that he intended this land to be the home and the possession of a Protestant people.

How then are we to show faithfulness to our trust? How are we to perpetuate an *American* nation? Not by permitting every stranger who sets foot upon our shores, a participation in, and control over our affairs, equal to our own; for that, if persisted in, will blot out our principles and our nationality together. It can only be effected by extending the privileges of citizenship to those *only* who are thoroughly Americanized, so that the nation shall adopt the foreign material no faster than it can be completely assimilated. By no other method whatever is it possible for us to extend the growth of our principles into all the world.

Genuine American principles, however, neither demand nor imply the slightest hatred or prejudice against the foreigner who may seek our shores. They call for no contempt of the immigrant who may fly from the poverty and sufferings of Europe; no disregard of his rights or his feelings. But while his prejudices are strong about him, and he can know

little or nothing of our institutions, prudence and self-respect alike demand, that *for his sake*, and for ours, we should refrain from putting into his hand an instrument wherewith, in his mistaken judgment, he may root up the liberty tree under which he came to repose.

American principles—I mean, *here*, those which demand suitable restrictions in regard to citizenship—are the only ones which are really consistent with a true kindness towards the immigrants themselves. It is merely to inform them on their arrival, that they have been educated in a manner very different from ourselves, and that our social and political machine is one of great delicacy of structure; and without some study and experience it cannot be understood. Sit ye down here *safely* under the shadow of my tree, partake freely of the rich fruits around you, and the *very moment you are qualified*, the moment you will not ignorantly endanger *your blessings*, and mine, you shall be admitted to all the rights of the native born. Is not this to manifest a higher, nobler, truer regard for the foreigner, than to bestow upon him at once a gift he cannot appreciate, a power of which he is profoundly ignorant, and let him fall into the hands of some selfish, reckless demagogue, who will set him to demolish the very institutions which he came over the ocean to enjoy? What greater cruelty can be shown the foreigner than that?

We are suffering to an incalculable degree, at this very moment: to an extent no words can describe, from the broad and rapid and unebbing tide of pauperism, degradation and crime setting in upon us from Europe.

I know, that mingled with this, there is also much, very much, which is noble and valuable, much whose presence is a choice accession to our land. But the *general influence* of foreign immigration is too plainly marked to be mistaken. The criminals, the paupers, the sabbath-breakers, the main supporters of infidelity, are not drawn in great numbers from the native American population. You may visit the poor-houses, and houses of correction, the jails, and penitentiaries; you may enter the lowest and most vicious haunts of society, the places of sabbath resort and sabbath desecra-

tion, and you will find there comparatively few of the descendants of the Puritans. And it is high time that Europe should cease from her attempts to make of our land a Botany Bay—the common sewer of earth—the very Tophet wherein to empty the sweepings of the globe, and then taunt us with the fearful increase of crime in a Republican government.

But still, true American principles require us to look kindly upon the *lowest* and *worst* of all these, *as a brother man*—to reform, if possible, the vicious; to exalt the degraded; to instruct the ignorant: to fit him for the enjoyment of a free-man's rights, and then, without an hour's delay, make him the full joint heir of the native born, to the priceless inheritance of an American citizen. Yet, strange as it may seem, men who adopt such principles and are struggling to carry them out in action, are denounced as narrow-minded, short sighted, wrong-headed, intolerant bigots, unworthy to live in this most liberal age;—while they are the only friends of man, the only far-seeing, sagacious, disinterested patriots: the only “Simon Pure” specimens; who, almost from the wharf where they land, or the poor-house, or house of correction, march up to the ballot-box gangs of men who know as little of our country as they do of Le Verrier's planet, and who yet are permitted to decide questions of public policy, which involves the reputation—yes, more—the very existence of our country. Such a spectacle is without a parallel in the history of earth. No nation but our own ever dared the egregious folly of permitting its household gods to be scorned and trampled by the stranger. It seems to be considered a part of an American's duty, neither “to peep, nor move the wing,” when even the inmate of a foreign prison or poor-house comes to revile our institutions, or to spit upon our fathers' graves.

However much for party interests' sake the true American principles on this point may be denounced, they alone have power to preserve the American name, or prevent our foreign population from meeting here the very evils and oppressions from which they fled, when they sought our shores. It is for *them*, no less than for ourselves, that we

desire to preserve the inheritance bestowed upon our fathers, and defended at the expense of so much treasure and blood.

Preserve the Republic pure at the core; let it be American *there*, and let it grow by natural increase, and by assimilation; not by the unchecked addition of material, which, after its incorporation, remains *foreign* still. You cannot build the Temple of American Liberty from the drift-wood of European rivers. Cut the timber from our native forests, or from trees that have been planted here long enough to *take root* in American soil.

Again; we are to preserve the American principles and name, by guarding ourselves, at all points, against the power and cunning of Rome. No greater, no more fatal delusion could seize the American mind, than to suppose that the atrocities of Rome belong only to the past; that *now* her principles and her practice have yielded to the liberalizing spirit of the age. No man can entertain that opinion who has thoroughly mastered her system.

Rome, in her very nature, is unchangeable. Let her give up the principle which not only justifies but *demand*s the persecution of the heretic, and it would annihilate the Papacy. Rome cannot change. What she was in the Alpine vallies, and in the plains of Languedoc, *that* she is to-day in this our western home. We are engaged *here* in the same great struggle which has been going on for ages between Puritanism and Papacy. It wears here the same general characteristics, and looks to the same result—the death either of Despotism or Liberty.

Here, on our own soil, the gathered experience of a thousand years, and the energies of these modern times are brought to the final struggle—the death-grapple—in which Romanism, or Protestantism and Liberty must die. I mean not that Catholics must die, nor that they must be persecuted, or hated, or shunned, or injured in one hair of their heads. Be they *welcome* to dwell here in safety and peace. But I *do* mean, that the Politico-religious engine which the despotisms of Europe *own*, and whose chief engineer sitteth on the seven hills; I mean that this must be dashed in pieces.

or Liberty will be crushed. To protect ourselves against Rome, our enemy, whose hate and warfare have survived a thousand years, this is not intolerance or bigotry,—but self-defence.

We are Protestants, and Rome will slay us if she has the power. Her instincts are steady to that point, as the needle to the pole. Never has the voice of a Protestant been raised in her presence, but, if she had the power, she has hushed it in the deep dungeon, or the *stiller* grave.

We are friends of liberty; and not a movement has been made in all the earth, since Rome had a being, but she has hastened to trample it down. We are the friends of intellectual progress. Her province is to smother the human mind in a wrappage of forms, lay it in the tomb, and then burn wax tapers by the sepulchre.

This Protestant Republic cannot dwell in peace with Rome. The union of the lamb and tiger would be nothing to that. It is too well known to be dwelt upon here, that the Romish movement upon our soil, with its gigantic plans for emigration, is a political crusade against American liberty, carried on under the guidance of the crowned heads of Europe, and waged principally through the ballot-box and Jesuit schools.

The present plan of Rome is to conquer America, as a portion of Europe was won back from the Reformation—by the teaching of our children; and waiting quietly till a generation has grown up into Romanists; while, by the importation of Catholic voters, they gain possession of the ballot box. These two ideas explain the whole. This enables us to understand why the Jesuits of Europe, and that hater of liberty, Metternich of Austria, and that heretic burner, the Pope, are so over anxious that our American children should have the means of education, while their own countries are left in most barbarous ignorance. Why does their charity and their love pass by their own miserable populations without a thought or a care, and hasten over the ocean with sympathy and gold? Why, even here, are thousands of Catholic children growing up untaught, while so many seminaries are

opened on all sides for the dear children of the heretics? These schools are under the direction of Jesuits; and this answers all. Give to the Jesuit the education of American children, and he knows that the result is sure.

How fitting it would be to send for a monarch, or a monarch's tool to teach our children American liberty; and how admirable the sagacity which employs a tool of the Pope to train up our children in Protestantism. Here let me add, on the authority of some of the best writers of Europe, and some experience here, that it is an impudent pretension that Jesuits are more complete scholars than our own, or that a more polished education can be obtained in *their* seminaries. The exact contrary is the fact. In every thing which teaches mind to *think*, to *live*, to *act*, our native schools are immeasurably superior. In these seminaries the world over, there is the mere semblance of mental life. It is death in ghastly imitation of life. It is like a march of men in their winding sheets; it is a dance of corpses. There is plenty of words, and books, and philosophical apparatus, but no thought, nor investigation, nor result worthy of a soul. The system produces not a living thing but a mechanism.

Where it has done its utmost, where Rome has wrought without let or hindrance, what has been the result? Let Italy answer, gasping under the Austrian's armed heel, swarming with an ignorant superstitious population. Let Spain and Portugal, mouldering yet in the grave of the middle ages, let them bear testimony. Let miserable Mexico; let cursed and blighted South America reply; and then bring upon the stand the famished millions of Ireland.

You have seen a man, devoid of taste for the true and beautiful, trimming down the trees of an avenue into stiff, fantastic shapes: cones, pyramids, and what not; stiff, motionless and unnatural;—you have compared these living statues with some magnificent oak, shaped into the free and graceful proportions of nature, tossing its bending branches; mighty in its huge strength, yet very beautiful, and making sweet music, with its trembling leaves, through all the summer day.

This will illustrate the difference between Jesuitical machine-making and American education. One of the most effectual safeguards against the encroachments of Romanism is the education of our own children. This, surely, is neither bigotry nor intolerance. Not an American child should ever be committed for an hour, to the care of any teacher who will not imbue his mind with American principles; who will not teach him to love, honor and protect whatever belongs to a Protestant American Republic.

A system of Protestant education of the highest order, and ample enough to embrace every child, should be at once provided for this western valley; and not an ounce of patronage should be withdrawn from any of our teachers, by placing one child where he will be taught, (if it is possible,) to forget, or insult the memory of our fathers. Through these, our own seminaries, it should be our assiduous endeavor to create a literature which shall be thoroughly American, the true outgrowth and expression of the American soul.

Here, by my side, is that bold, strong pioneer in education and religion at the West; ⁽¹⁾ who has grown gray, but not *weak*, in maintaining our fathers' faith.

Had he been sustained, as I think he might and should have been, a Catholic seminary would not have supplanted in this city one which he designed for the Protestant education of our daughters; and if he is now supported in that effort to supply the West with Protestant schools; of which effort, I take it, he is the originator; in that game in which the souls of our children and the liberties of America are at stake, the Jesuits may be check-mated yet.

With regard to our Catholic brethren, we have no mission which implies hatred, or ill will, or the slightest degree of persecution. We are not required, or even allowed, to interfere with their rights, or to abridge their comforts; but we are solemnly charged by our God, by an expecting world, by the examples and precepts of our fathers, to prevent them from subverting the foundations of our state. They shall never be permitted to take our Bible from us; they shall not

(1) Dr. Beecher.

lead our children in captivity to Rome; they shall dig no dungeons in our soil; nor drive the stake, nor kindle the faggot here. We will permit no American blood to bespatter the jaws of the dragon; we will have no American christians dismissed in a fire chariot to heaven. We will never permit the standard of Rome to be hoisted over the American flag! No! no! God gave this country to our fathers and us a *Protestant* land, and we will keep it thus. At whatever peril, or expense of treasure, or of life, if need be; though it cost a thousand Bunker Hills, this country must remain to the end *free Protestant America,—our own*, as well as, our native land.

What have distinctive American principles and American character wrought in this land: a spectacle for the world? They have given birth to a new nation on earth, and have placed its name among the mightiest; not without a struggle; but now, without dispute, acknowledged to be great, long ere it has reached the maturity of its stature. This greatness, in every important feature, is American.

These free institutions are the outgrowth of American mind and a Protestant faith. Our Free Schools, our Collegiate system, our Theological Seminaries, our Bibles, and Churches, and pulpits for preaching, these are not children of foreign birth, they are *Native Americans*.

Strike out from all our country's achievements and possessions—territorial, civil, moral and religious—what is distinctively American, and what would remain? Sweep away whatever is foreign—I speak not of men, but of principles, and manners, and faith—and how much should we be injured?

American principles have bequeathed to us those stirring memories of an heroic age, which, next to the Gospel, have power to elevate, to strengthen, to refine the public mind. The eloquence of other times that thundered along the Atlantic; the blood shed there; the thought of the great men who dwelt there; these, and the Gospel, have thus far preserved our nationality. How has this wondrous West been made what we now behold?

The Romanist was here a hundred years before us. The old woods were subjected to the spell of the Vatican; but it produced here no thronging population; no railroads, nor fleets of commerce, nor canals, nor roads, nor even one Queen City. It produced not even a clearing; the most important fruit was the tinkle of a little bell, to call a few Indians to kneel before the Virgin.

But when a Protestant faith came and breathed over the valley, these empires started into life.

Two things American principles have not done. They have not struggled to perpetuate slavery; to gain one foot of land by conquest; and genuine American policy has not shed one drop of Mexican blood.

It has been fashionable, perhaps still is, to deride those who are endeavoring to base political action upon American principles and a Protestant faith. The time is coming when this will be found the largest idea that ever rallied a party. The time will come when christians will find it necessary to drop all other considerations, and rally politically around their fathers' faith; not to force it upon any one, but to preserve it from overthrow. To all who are endeavoring to make prominent and stable our fathers' distinctive features of policy, let me say, in closing, that the old party lines are fading, old party war-cries are losing all their potency.

There must inevitably be a dissolution of the present great parties of the country. The new ones will be formed upon moral questions; and for an *American citizen*, whether native or foreign born, I see no nobler rallying point than the *Protestant American flag*.

Then cut the foreign prisons and poor-houses from our Eagle's wings, untie the Pope from about his neck, and he will no longer stoop to earth, and draggle his feathers in his lumbering flight, but he will re-mount at once to his proper station, the heights of the middle heaven.



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